

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
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O R 031920Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY LOME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 184
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

S E C R E T LOME 0243

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT EYADEMA URGES IMMEDIATE WESTERN AID TO
UNITA/FNLA

REF: (A) 75 STATE 299923, (B) 75 LOME 2642

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT EYADEMA SUMMONED ME ALONG WITH FRENCH AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS THIS MORNING. IN STRONGEST TERMS EYADEMA BOTH CRITICIZED SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AND URGED WEST ("VOS GOUVERNEMENTS") TO PREVENT ANGOLA'S COLLAPSE UNDER SOVIET HEGEMONY. LOOKING MAINLY AT ME, PRESIDENT STRESSED URGENCY OF IMMEDIATE WESTERN RESPONSE IN VIEW OF DETERIORATING MILITARY SITUATION IN ANGOLA. EYADEMA WAS EXTREMELY AGITATED, POSSIBLY BECAUSE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, AT OWN REQUEST, HAD MADE DEMARCHE EARLIER THIS MORNING BLAMING "IMPERIALISTS AND EXPLOITERS" FOR ANGOLAN PROBLEM. EYADEMA HAD TOLD AMBASSADOR FLATLY THAT TOGOLESE KNEW BETTER THAN SOVIETS WHO AIDED AND WHO EXPLOITED THEM. EYADEMA THEN TOLD US THAT GOT DID NOT FAVOR ANY ONE FACTION AND STILL BELIEVED ANGOLANS SHOULD BE LEFT TO ACHIEVE OWN SETTLEMENT. SOVIET INVOLVEMENT, HOWEVER, HAD MADE ANGOLA MORE THAN AFRICAN PROBLEM. THERE NO LONGER APPEARS TO BE DANGER OF TOGO'S RECOGNITION OF MPLA, BUT EYADEMA'S APPEAL FOR IMME-

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DIATE AND EFFECTIVE WESTERN AID TO ANTI-MPLA FORCES IS NOT YET

ON PUBLIC RECORD. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT EYADEMA UNEXPECTEDLY SUMMONED ME AND FRENCH AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS THIS MORNING TO DISCUSS ANGOLA. I OBSERVED FONMIN HUNLEDE DEPARTING PRESIDENCY AS I ARRIVED. FELLOW-TRAVELING INFORMATION MINISTER JOHNSON WAS SOLE OTHER TOGOLESE PARTICIPANT IN OUR MEETING.

3. EYADEMA INTRODUCED SUBJECT OF ANGOLA, SAYING IT WAS NO LONGER RPT NO LONGER EXCLUSIVELY AN AFRICAN PROBLEM. MASSIVE SOVIET INTERVENTION ON MPLA SIDE WAS MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANGOLANS TO ACHIEVE THEIR OWN PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. SOVIET THREAT SO BAD THAT UNITA AND FNLA HAD BEEN FORCED TO ACCEPT HELP FROM WHOMEVER THEY COULD GET IT, I.E. SOUTH AFRICANS. PRESIDENT REPEATED THAT, WHILE TOGO SUPPORTED WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES, PROBLEM WAS NO LONGER EXCLUSIVELY AFRICAN. HE REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT GOVERNMENTS (REPRESENTED BY THREE AMBASSADORS) SIMPLY COULD NOT STAND ASIDE AND LET SOVIETS SECURE FOOTHOLD IN THIS PART OF AFRICA WHERE THEY HAD NO BUSINESS. HE SAID ANY KIND OF WESTERN ASSISTANCE, MATERIEL OR MEN, WOULD BE WELCOME. GRAVITY OF CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION FOR UNITA AND FNLA REQUIRED OUR IMMEDIATE HELP. PRESIDENT DECRIED RECENT SOVIET-SUPPORTED INCURSION INTO ZAIRIAN VILLAGE AND BEMOANED NEEDLESS SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENT INHABITANTS.

4. EYADEMA WAS AGITATED AS HE DESCRIBED HIS MEETING EARLIER TODAY WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR, AT LATTER'S REQUEST. AMBASSADOR HAD SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD COOPERATE TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN ANGOLA, BUT HE ALSO HAD WARNED OF "IMPERIALISTS AND EXPLOITERS" WHO INTERFERE IN AFRICA. EYADEMA TOLD US HE HAD ASKED THAT HIS THANKS FOR SOVIET ASSURANCES BE CONVEYED TO MOSCOW, BUT HE HAD CHASTISED SOVIET AMBASSADOR FOR CRITICISM OF WESTERNERS AS EXPLOITERS IN AFRICA. THE TOGOLESE, PRESIDENT HAD SAID, WERE IN BETTER POSITION THAN SOVIETS TO KNOW "WHO AIDED AND WHO EXPLOITED" THEM. ONE HAD ONLY TO LOOK AROUND TO SEE HOW LITTLE USSR HAD DONE IN TOGO.

5. FOLLOWING EYADEMA'S FORMAL REMARKS, I AWAITED INITIAL RESPONSE BY FRENCH AMBASSADOR ROUDIE, WHO IS DEAN OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS HERE. ROUDIE SAID FRANCE SHARED EYADEMA'S CONCERN FOR WITHDRAWAL

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OF FOREIGN FORCES AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN ANGOLA. HE GAVE NO HINT OF MIGHT BE ASSISTING ANTI-MPLA FORCES ALREADY, OR WOULD BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE GREATER RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD AN ANGOLAN SOLUTION.

6. I THEN REPLIED THAT USG'S POSITION WAS COMPATIBLE WITH THAT WHICH PRESIDENT HAD STATED IN THAT WE SUPPORTED CEASEFIRE, AN END TO ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND NEGOTIATIONS AMONG PARTIES

CONCERNED. I SAID THAT USG ALSO TROUBLED BY SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN ANGOLA AND HAD MADE THIS KNOWN TO SOVIET GOVERNMENT. I TOLD EYADEMA THAT PRESIDENT FORD HAD PUBLICLY EXPRESSED REGRET AT US CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IN CUTTING OFF FUNDS FOR AID TO ANGOLA, CALLING ACTION A SERIOUS MISTAKE. EYADEMA NODDED VIGOROUSLY AT THIS.

7. GERMAN AMBASSADOR HAFERKAMP REMINDED PRESIDENT OF GERMANY'S UNHAPPY EXPERIENCE WITH SOVIET AGGRESSION, ASSESSED CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION IN ANGOLA ON BASIS OF RECENT "DER SPIEGEL" ARTICLE AND FINALLY LAUNCHED MORE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PAUCITY OF SOVIET AID EFFORT THROUGHOUT WORLD. HAFERKAMP EMPHASIZED IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR WESTERN NATIONS, WHICH DO PROVIDE MOST OF WORLD'S ECONOMIC AID, TO RESPOND TO PLEAS FOR HELP WHEN WE CONSTANTLY WERE BEING LABELED AS IMPERIALISTS, EXPLOITERS, AND NEO-COLONIALISTS.

8. EYADEMA ACKNOWLEDGED PREPONDERANCE OF WESTERN AID AND, GESTURING, SAID SOVIETS HAD GIVEN NOTHING - "RIEN, RIEN." FURTHERMORE, SOVIETS HAD ESTABLISHED STRONG FOOTHOLDS IN AFRICA, SUCH AS IN BENIN AND SOMALIA. (REFERENCE TO SOMALIA REMINDED ME THAT, WHEN FURNISHED LAST SUMMER WITH PHOTOGRAPHS OF SOVIET FACILITIES IN BERBERA AND TESTIMONY OF ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS, I SENT THEM DIRECTLY TO EYADEMA. AT TIME, I THOUGHT THAT PRESIDENT AS MILITARY MAN MIGHT TAKE SPECIAL INTEREST IN MATERIALS. HE NEVER ACKNOWLEDGED RECEIVING THEM, BUT I BELIEVE NOW THEY DID MAKE DESIRED IMPRESSION ON HIM.)

9. PRESIDENT DID NOT MENTION CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA WHEN ASKING FOR WESTERN HELP TO STOP SOVIETS, BUT HE APPEARED TO APPRECIATE IMPLICATION IN PRAISE OF FRENCH AMBASSADOR (WHOSE LAST POST WAS HAVANA) FOR USG ACTION IN BLOCKING SOVIET MISSILE DELIVERIES TO CUBA IN 1962.

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10. AS MEETING DREW TO CLOSE, I ASSURED EYADEMA HIS POSITION WOULD BE CONVEYED TO WASHINGTON TODAY. I THANKED HIM FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR DIRECT EXPRESSION OF HIS VIEWS WHICH, AS I WAS AWARE, CAME FROM MAN OF PEACE.

11. OUTSIDE PRESIDENCY, FRENCH AMBASSADOR INVITED HAFERKAMP AND ME TO HIS RESIDENCE AT NOONTIME TO COMPARE NOTES.

12. COMMENT: FRENCH AND GERMAN COLLEAGUES AND I AGREED THIS JOINT MEETING WAS AT BEST UNUSUAL, PARTICULARLY SINCE PRESIDENT EYADEMA WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF SOVIETS AND, IN EFFECT, PUT HIMSELF IN POSITION OF SEEKING AN "INTERVENTION" BY "IMPERIALISTS" (ITALICS MINE) FAR STRONGER THAN THAT WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT

USUALLY PERCEIVES ON PART OF WESTERN POWERS HERE (SARAKAWA EXCEPTED, OF COURSE). IF THERE IS ANY HINT IN MEDIA TOMORROW OF A TOGOLESE SHIFT TOWARD PARTISAN POSITION ON ANGOLA, OR OF GOT DISPLEASURE OVER SOVIETS, THEN I WOULD AGREE WITH FRENCH AND GERMAN AMBASSADOR THAT EYADEMA HAS CHANGED GOT POSITION. WHILE THERE NO LONGER APPEARS TO BE DANGER OF TOGO'S RECOGNITION OF MPLA, EYADEMA HAS NOT YET STOOD UP AND BEEN COUNTED PUBLICLY, HOWEVER. FRENCH AMBASSADOR (AS WELL AS HIS DCM WHO ATTENDED NOONTIME MEETING AT FRENCH RESIDENCE) BELIEVES EYADEMA'S APPROACH TO US HAS MOBUTU'S CONCURRENCE, BUT AT SAME TIME HE VIEWS PRESIDENT'S MOOD THIS MORNING AS ANGRY AND HIS ACTION IN SUMMONING US THEREFORE AS PRECIPITATE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERVENTION, MILITARY ASSISTANCE, POLITICAL SITUATION, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976LOME00243
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DC ADJUSTED PER LOME 23
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760039-0366
From: LOME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760288/aaaacznz.tel
Line Count: 182
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 75 STATE 299923, 75 LOME 2642
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 MAY 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <31 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESIDENT EYADEMA URGES IMMEDIATE WESTERN AID TO UNITA/FNLA
TAGS: PFOR, AO, TO, UNITA, FNLA, (EYADEMA, GNASSINGBE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006